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ABSTRACT

A postcolonial analysis suggests the need for a new theory of education that supports a model of genuinely bicultural education in New Zealand. Ways in which mainstream education might be enhanced by Maori pedagogies are explored through interviews with a preservice primary school teacher of Maori descent. In the area of rules of practice, Maori views of good teaching, such as the belief that people come before paperwork and that the child's ahua (aura or presence) should be nourished, may involve encouraging rules of practice less familiar to mainstream educators, resisting rules of mainstream education, and looking holistically at the implications of poor rules of practice. Concerning practical principles, Maori pedagogy holds that a safe learning environment is fundamental to good teaching, and that in the discussion of a single principle, one should hear all principles. Maori images of good teaching include the use of culturally relevant values to ensure consistency in delivery and content; the belief that good teaching will confirm links across generations and learning contexts; and most significantly, the importance of the medium of teaching. This research indicates that a significant shift is needed in how good teaching is perceived in order to create a bicultural model of quality teaching and close the performance gap between Maori and non-Maori students. Contains 15 references. (TD)

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What is good teaching? Lessons from Māori pedagogy

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What is good teaching?: Lessons from Māori pedagogy

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This paper explores, through the analysis of a preservice teacher's experiences of teaching art, social studies and mathematics, indigenous understandings of 'good teaching'. The research aims were twofold:

- to identify and affirm indigenous pedagogies, in particular, Māori pedagogy
- to expand mainstream pedagogies through the inclusion of Māori understandings of what facilitates good teaching.

In this way the research represents an effort to usefully inform education policy and practices regarding quality teaching in general, to make vivid the principles and practices of Māori pedagogy in mainstream schooling, and to develop a model of bicultural education based upon teachers' implicit theories of teaching and learning. This is done through examples of three forms of pedagogical knowledge (rules of practice, practical principles and images) present in the teacher's description of lesson planning, preparation, teaching aims and experiences. Present throughout the analysis is an emerging theme of ways in which Māori pedagogy is constructed from prior experience and how prior experience shapes Māori pedagogy. The purpose of this paper is to widen the scope of teaching theory so that it comes to incorporate more of the different kinds of knowledge and experience which are part of good teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Introduction

This paper is about teaching, about the ways in which Māori pedagogy is expressed and present in mainstream education, and how that presence might influence thinking about good teaching. In a field of shifting theories and perceptions of quality, a precise answer to the question 'What is good teaching?' remains elusive. With the intention of creating a language of possibilities for quality teaching in Aotearoa New Zealand, this paper describes culturally framed understandings of good teaching.

The research described in this paper is an investigation into Māori perceptions of what facilitates 'good teaching'. The research question has been

investigated in a way that includes the input of a Māori student teacher ('Darren') who has experienced success in his teaching practice. Teaching processes that work as reported by him, other Māori commentators, and the wider academic community are explored in this study.

The phrase 'good teaching' invites debate requiring political, economic, administrative, social and cultural explanations. A clash of ideologies struggles with the two key dimensions of research into 'good teaching': one normative (how things ought to be) and the other descriptive (how things actually are). It might be thought that the normative issues are the hard ones, but when the descriptive issues concern human decision-making processes and behaviour, as they do with understandings of good teaching, they are often far more difficult to resolve. Adding to the puzzle is the way in which teaching is visionary and practical, personal and political, both focused upon individual needs and collective responsibility. To say what is good teaching is to say something of hopes and values, but it may also speak of imperial legacies that work to homogenise education goals to fit dominant group perspectives. In short, what is 'good' for one may not be so for another. With these varied and often conflicting perspectives as part of the landscape for this paper, I will use the phrase 'good teaching' to describe teaching which has a positive effect on the psychological (cognitive), socio-cultural and sociolinguistic development of the student.[1]

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[1] See Graham Nuthall (In press). In his review of recent studies of student experience in classrooms Graham groups the studies into three broad categories:

a. psychological, where students are seen as "creating or constructing their own knowledge and skills" (p.2);

b. soociocultural, where learning and thinking are seen as social processes involving interactions between individuals;

c. sociolinguistic, where the way in which the classroom functions is a 'language' which also affects what is learnt and thought during schooling.

In an effort to expand the range of current sources of information about what good teaching means, a logic of culture-specificity was applied to this investigation. The research aims were twofold:

- to identify and affirm indigenous pedagogies, particularly Māori pedagogies
- to expand mainstream pedagogies through the inclusion of Māori understandings of what facilitates good teaching.

In this way the research represents an effort to usefully inform policy and practices regarding quality teaching in general, to make vivid the principles and practices of Māori pedagogy in mainstream schooling, and to develop a model of bicultural education. This is done through presenting examples of three forms of pedagogical knowledge (rules of practice, practical principles and images)[2] present in Darren's description of lesson planning, preparation, teaching aims and experiences. Throughout the analysis is an emerging theme of ways in which Māori pedagogy is constructed from prior experience and how prior experience shapes Māori pedagogy.

The educational worth of this study is that it aims to inform individuals and groups working in teacher education about Māori perspectives on good teaching. These are relevant because they link with the bicultural context of education in Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as providing clues to the dilemmas posed by the comparatively poor performance of Māori students in mainstream education.

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[2] See Elbaz, F. (1981). The teacher's "practical knowledge": Report of a case study. *Curriculum Inquiry, 11*, 43-71.

It is intended that this research will expand understandings of how curriculum practices, policy and theory might incorporate Māori perspectives of quality teaching. In response to the need to understand what Māori people report as features of good teaching, the research question for this study is: What aspects of Māori pedagogy facilitate quality curriculum delivery? Or, less technically and more generally, "What is good teaching?"

Research method

This research examined the pedagogical knowledge of one preservice Māori teacher who was seeking to apply Māori pedagogy in a range of essential learning areas.[3] During a five week teaching practice placement, Darren talked with me about his planning, intentions, experiences and outcomes from teaching in Art, Social Studies and finally in Mathematics.

Initially Darren's lessons contained predictable content of koru patterns in Art and Māori gods in Social Studies. In both cases his teaching was successful with all children achieving the unit learning outcomes. Darren believed that he had taught using principles of Māori pedagogy. I then challenged him to apply the same principles to a less predictable curriculum area, Mathematics and the calculation of volume. Darren accepted the challenge, prepared carefully, applied his pedagogical principles and guided his students to 100% success in the first lesson of what he had planned to be a three lesson unit. As Darren said following that lesson, "They got it."

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[3] *The New Zealand Curriculum Framework(1993)* identifies the following essential learning areas for the school curriculum: Mathematics, Health and Physical Well-being, The Arts, Science, Technology, Social Science, Language and Languages.

This paper then explores some of the principles Darren applied during his teaching practice. Inevitably there are overlaps with his own experiences as a learner and aspects of his teaching philosophy. With an increasing awareness of some 'Thing' that was particular to the ways in which he taught, and the ways in which life experience as a person of Māori descent were influencing the ways in which he taught, Darren attempted to describe his previously unarticulated theories of teaching. In effect, as he described his understanding of what facilitates good teaching he was creating his own form of Māori pedagogy.

Through a series of interviews an inductive descriptive picture of his conceptions of good teaching was built up. Using a range of interview methods, including the Critical Incident method (Flanagan, 1954), semi-structured interview based upon stimulating recall through document analysis (eg. unit plans, student evaluations, diagnostic surveys), and narrative analysis we worked together to record Darren's retrospective and prospective thoughts about what constitutes good teaching.

Analysing Darren's talk

As has been previously noted (Clark & Peterson, 1986) research into implicit thinking depends heavily upon self-reporting by the teacher, and will involve retrospective and prospective self-reporting whose reliability has been challenged (Wilson, 1977) and defended (Ericsson & Simon, 1980).

Where Darren was describing teaching matters which he was currently attending to, his verbal reports had a greater level of reliability and validity

because he was describing the contents of short-term memory (Ericsson & Simon, 1980). Where Darren was discussing inferences or describing partially remembered information, reliability and validity are less robust but also less relevant because the intention is to connect with personal theories and derive an understanding of pedagogy that is based upon personal experience. That Darren's perspective complements previous national and international studies of teaching is convenient and reassuring, but not essential. This paper is not so much about accurately recording teachers' thinking, but rather it is about how to think about teaching, good teaching. The outcome of this paper is a conceptual analysis of Māori perspectives of what is good teaching. It remains however that even though teachers' implicit theories are central to understanding teachers' perceptions and practices of good teaching (Munby, 1982), research on implicit thought theories is underrepresented in the literature on teacher thinking (Clark & Paterson, 1986).

While many researchers and theorists have studied and described principles of good teaching,[4] the concern in this study is to link conceptualisation with practice. To this end Elbaz's (1981) earlier work examining the thought processes (what Elbaz called "practical knowledge") of a high school teacher provided a useful conceptual framework for thinking about Darren's

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[4] See for example J. Dewey. (1973). My pedagogic creed. *School Journal*, LIV. 77-80. In J. McDermott (Ed.), *The philosophy of John Dewey: Vol II: The lived experience* (pp. 443- 454). New York: Capricorn Books. (Original work published 1897); B. Davis, (1994). *Listening to reason: An inquiry into Mathematics teaching*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; S. Ashton-Warner. (1993). Teacher. In A. Calder (Ed.), *The writing of New Zealand: Inventions and identities* (pp. 197- 206). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed. (Original work published 1963); A. Jones. (1991). *"At school I've got a chance". Culture/ privilege: Pacific Islands and Pakeha girls at school*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press; R. Conners. (1978). *An analysis of teacher thought processes, beliefs and principles during instruction*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. In Clark, C., Peterson, P. (1986). Teachers' thought processes. M. Wittrock. (Ed.). *Handbook of research on teaching*. NY: Macmillan, 290.

discussion of good teaching. Elbaz links classroom practice with research by combining the analysis of different kinds of teacher knowledge with teacher actions; all being focused upon good teaching.

According to Elbaz, three structural forms can be identified in teacher knowledge: rules of practice, practical principles, and images. Rules of practice are concise, clearly stated prescriptions of how the good teacher would choose to behave in common teaching situations. These are rules of practice that simply require the recognition of the situation followed by the use of the rule. As a more general construct the practical principle is derived largely from personal experience and its use generally depends on teacher reflection. By combining reflection with purpose the practical principle guides a teacher's actions and explains the basis for the actions. The third form, images, is made up of personal mental pictures of the nature and feeling associated with good teaching. The images are expressed in metaphor or analogy and are associated with the intuitive rather than analytical realisation of the images of good teaching. What this conceptual framework reveals about good teaching from a Māori pedagogical perspective will explored through the analysis of Darren's interviews.

The mainstream context of Māori pedagogy

As Darren talked about his experiences during teaching practice he described instances of 'good teaching' as defined earlier in this paper as well as examples of each of the forms in the tripartite conceptual framework. Taken together, these features of his discussion indicated that although pedagogy may be a science straddling national and international boundaries, with

Māori pedagogy articulating such universal principles of good teaching, the presence of indigenous principles of good teaching introduces the cultural imperative that good teaching occurs in relation to a particular context and the first peoples of that context. Good teaching is about principles of practice with people and it is also about principles of people in place.

Māori pedagogy exists in the context of an evolving post-colonial society significantly shaped by a treaty relationship between the first people (Māori) and those who came later (Pakeha).[5] That this relationship has affected the life chances and educational achievements of both Māori and Pakeha has been clearly documented.[6] Statistical data over the past century from state school records such as class rolls, progress and achievement registers, school certificate results, university entrance results, bursary marks and a few other measurements and evaluation criteria, all serve to produce statistics which show huge disparities between the achievement and retention rates of Māori and non-Māori pupils. Rather than closing, the gap between Māori and non-Māori is still widening. This pattern of disparity has become so commonplace that society has come to accept it as quite normal for Māori to fail. Māori pedagogy is a distinct kind of post-colonial effort to address critically serious aspects of education in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Māori pedagogy precedes colonial contact and now resides within a context of efforts to decolonise education. Central to decolonisation is the mind shift of taking Māori pedagogy out of the margins and into the mainstream. The

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[5] See Paul Spoonley's (1995) discussion of ways in which 'postcolonial' does not mean 'after' colonialism but refers instead to an ongoing engagement with the effects of colonisation.
[6] See for example, Te Puni Kokiri. (1998). *Progress towards closing social and economic gaps between Maori and non-Maori: A report of the Minister of Maori Affairs*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Puni Kokiri.

isolation of Māori discourse from mainstream education, while an understandable political response, can serve to reinforce patterns of dominance with Māori discourse continuing to be exoticised at best, marginalised or even ghettoised at worst. That Māori perspectives on education should be automatically scheduled within the 'Māori and indigenous education' stream of an education conference is but one example of what Willinsky (1997) has called 'imperial habits of mind'.

This paper, in investigating Māori perceptions of good teaching, proposes the development of a bicultural model of education as one dimension of social action through good teaching.[7] The model recognises Māori pedagogy as significant for all education in Aotearoa New Zealand, not only because of the specific needs associated with Māori achievement but also the global implications of Māori perspectives of good teaching. It therefore seeks to expand mainstream pedagogies through the inclusion of Māori understandings of good teaching as an informed source worthy of critical review. In essence Māori pedagogy is a reminder of Treaty based relations and imperial legacies. It also a science of teaching which assists this nation and others to better understand the fundamental teaching question: How might we teach well so that we and our young ones might belong genuinely in community now and in the coming millennium?

In considering what is good teaching it is important to remember that Māori

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[7] The bicultural model is informed by two key sources: Paulo Freire's (1972) reminder that if oppression is to be overcome then a new theory of social action is necessary, one that does not replicate the very systems of alienation used by the oppressor; and Rose Parker's heuristic of society being like a ladder: Maori interests forming one strut, Pakeha the other, and steps of dialogue between. Each element is essential for the strength of the overall structure. A genuinely bicultural model of education will be proactive, appreciative of difference and concerned with good teaching contributing to community in the making.

pedagogy not only describes general principles of teaching, but it is both constructed from prior experience and that prior experience shapes Māori pedagogy. Necessarily then any talk of good teaching will require contextualisation if it is to connect with that experience. Indeed, it is the story told in context that enables the principle within to be made vivid. How these principles occur in Aotearoa New Zealand and how they might inform the wider educational community is illustrated in the following accounts of Māori teacher thinking about good teaching.

Māori pedagogical knowledge about good teaching

1. Rules of practice and good teaching

The first form of knowledge about good teaching is concerned with ways in which understandings are shaped into brief, clearly formulated statements indicating how the teacher should behave in a common teaching situation. Darren described different genres of rules of practice that supported good teaching. Some were readily recognisable as mainstream rules of practice, such as those involving technical skills (eg. when reading a picture book to students sitting on the mat, hold the book in a way that reveals the pictures to best effect) and teacher responses to children's work (eg. a mistake should receive praise for their work so far and correction in a positive way). Some were more distinct and evoked a Māori pedagogy of good teaching through at least three positions in relation to rules of practice: advocating rules less familiar to mainstream practice, supporting rules which run counter to mainstream practice, and reinterpreting the implications of negative rules of practice.

An example of the first category arose when Darren described his cousin's experience when visiting Darren's teacher education institution. It shows, by analogy, Darren's sense of how a teacher should behave when faced with the common teaching situation of meeting and greeting someone, particularly a newcomer. It also reveals part of his creed of good teaching.

A: And you talked to me about how your cousin came and walked around and it wasn't until he was over in Māori Studies that he
D: Yeah
A: that he started to feel something he recognised.
D: Yeah he just noticed the difference in in the ways of people, you know. Like he met some other lecturers like and he went, "Oh," and then he met [the Māori Studies lecturer] and he went, "Oh kia ora, come and have a sit. Want a cuppa tea?" You know that's, that's the Māori way.
A: Whanaungatanga
D: Yeah that that's what he said. It's all about whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, you know, looking after, sharing. Cause that that's really the answer. What I've, what I know and what I've been taught, you know, my role is to give. It's never take take take take, you know. Even like um even like a teacher you always give. You give back you don't just take. That's yeah that's what I believe: the Māori way is giving.

From Darren's perspective the good teacher will automatically acknowledge and welcome people arriving, particularly newcomers; the teacher will give to another. This is an established rule of good teaching practice based upon a willingness to give through caring hospitality. This is an outward expression of the rule of good teaching practice: give.

An example of the type of rule which runs counter to mainstream practice and yet is perceived to be good teaching involved the relationship between

good teaching and the documentation of teaching practice. Darren talked about his frustrations associated with the requirement to complete written observations of his students during the early stages of his teaching practice.

D: The only thing I didn't like was the restrictions of [the institution], like you've got to you've got to observe everything first before you get to know the kids, you know, that's what they want. Whereas I just sort of [gestures]
A: What you flick it away?
D: Yeah I because I fall behind in my writing cause I want to get the I think it's important to get the you know get the um get to the kids first rather than write down all the jargon. Worry about that later. You've got to create that environment first.
A: So the children come before the paper?
D: Yeah. I think so. Oh especially like yeah I think so.
A: What's the paper for then?
D: Writing down [laughs]. I don't know you know that's just something that doesn't have to be done when you're with the kids. You can leave the paper at home. That's that's the only thing, that's when you're away doing your art unit and do all the writing then, then come back and give to the kids instead of worrying about writing down how many times someone gets out of their seat.

Later in the section Darren was further confounded when he had to write lesson plans for lessons he was confident to teach, had previously taught with success and whose form and content had been received orally.

D: And I was writing out the plan and I was going, I said to [my associate] "Oh what do I put here?" you know and she was going, "Just do what you did." And I said, "But I just do what I do, just how I was taught." You know it was just
A: So if it's passed onto you orally
D: Yeah well I don't

A: it doesn't fit to pass it on in writing

D: Um oh just yeah it's alright to write it down you know. I know it. I know it better. I can give it orally better than I can writing it. Cause when I was writing it it took me about an hour and a half to write up the plan and you know and I'd already done it and I'd done it heaps before and I was just thinking, 'Oh what did I do here?' and I was just I was just stuck. It was real hard just writing it out.

A: And yet you actually taught it fluently

D: Yeah and it went well it was awesome, it was a good lesson and they got it, they got it.

Darren then went on to describe the lesson content, but I still wanted to still address the resistance to the professional rule of good practice: plan lessons in writing.

A: So when when if ever is it helpful to write things down?

D: I don't know. I think it's like for me it's helpful when I'm not sure what I'm about to teach.

A: That's how I do it.

D: That's that what I think. I mean if you're confident you know in an area then you don't have to write it down, but if you're not then they need some written and visual assistance, you know.

A: So true

D: Yeah and I have to write a plan for te reo Māori and my associate loves the way I teach them te reo and she was and I said "Oh I have to write a plan out," and she goes, "What for?" and I said, "Oh cause you have to," and she goes, "Oh okay." And after I haven't written that one out, I don't know what to write. I don't know what to write down. So sometimes it's helpful but sometimes it's just a pain.

While it might be that Darren is expressing a frustration due to lack of experience in lesson plan writing he is also suggesting that rules of good teaching practice may run counter to mainstream requirements. By doing so these rules of resistance preserve an internal integrity (that lessons received

and taught orally are distorted when reported in writing), and professional integrity (that the establishment of a positive interactive learning environment precedes the documentation of that environment). In short, the rule of good teaching practice that Darren described was people (whether as previous teachers or current students) before paper.

The perception of what happens when rules of bad practice are implemented also explains Māori pedagogy concepts of good teaching. One scenario arose as Darren described the teacher's responsibility to the ahua[8] of the child and their learning environment.

Darren's concern was that in following the wrong rule (to reinforce that a child had made a mistake) a teacher could crush the child and the class atmosphere. He was thinking about a possible situation where a child might mix up the name of the god of the sea with that of the god of the forest.

D: Yes it's um like um if you get told you're doing something wrong in a really bad way then you know you're just going to close up, you're not going to want to give anymore you're just going to close up and like if you get 'oh no that was a good try but you know actually he's the god of the sea,' you know it's just the way that you talk back to the children. It's that Thing again, the ahua, your ahua, how you get that across. You know if you come across as a real idiot then you know you're not going

[8] Ahua was a recurring theme in our converesations about good teaching. Initially Darren introduced the concept of a teacher's aura or presence and how significant it is in promoting what he called a "safe" learning environment. Later he called it 'ahua'. Despite his use of 'presence' as a synonym for ahua it was apparent that he was describing an element of good teaching that has moral and spiritual significance for the individual and the group, as well as predictable technical and physical implications. A positive ahua in the teacher and classroom is understood to be a prerequisite for good teaching. It ensures a safe learning environment, a sense of belonging through whakapapa and whanau. The good teacher works to (as Darren said) "sort of magnify" the child's ahua. The ways in which ahua influences practical principles of good teaching are described throughout this paper.

to, it's just the way you respond to the answers.

A: It makes you wonder who is the idiot then.

D: Yeah, I mean you know it's just like they say um 'No silly questions,' or whatever, you know, those sorts of things. It comes back to that safe environment, you know, if the child feels safe enough they can say something that for them is right but is wrong, you know if you've got a safe environment then that that's only going to help each other.

Because of the holistic understanding of ahua (one that takes it beyond the mainstream concept of 'presence') undermining a child's ahua is viewed to be of deep significance, affecting the child physically and emotionally ("you're just going to close up"), spiritually and communally. Conversely, a positive regard for ahua and its nurturance will nourish the child, the class and the learning environment in a holistic way.

By drawing attention to the rules of practice outside and counter to mainstream pedagogy understandings of good teaching are extended by Māori perceptions of appropriate and inappropriate teaching.

2. Practical principles and good teaching

In this second analysis of Māori understandings of good teaching the focus is upon practical principles derived from reflection and experience. In a complex fashion they work to guide a teacher's actions and thereby make apparent the basis for those actions. By contrast, the previous analysis of rules of practice involved relatively simple processes. The relevant rule of good practice was usually explicitly available for the usually predictable situation. The response is to apply the rule or resist, and depending upon the cultural perspective this will determine whether or not the teaching is 'good'. The conversations with Darren, however, suggest that most understandings of good teaching are more complex than this because the influencing factors are

multifarious, multi layered, dynamic and often implicit. Consequently, the descriptions of good teaching are also more complex.

For Darren no single principle of good teaching can be discussed in isolation from any other. To talk of principles of practice associated with whanau is to tell something of manaakitanga; to learn facts about the gods is to open up matters of values, respect, spirituality; to begin a lesson is to honour principles associated with ultimate beginnings. The first aspect then arising from practical principles associated with Māori pedagogy is that in any discussion of a single principle one should hear the presence of all.

With this in mind, I will focus upon two principles only (good teaching generates change and overcomes ignorance; good teaching is "safe"), attempting to communicate something of their particular contribution to understandings of good teaching, and also something of their interrelatedness to other principles. The first practical principle is about the purpose of good teaching, the second is about the conditions of good teaching.

The purpose of teaching:

It became apparent during our discussions that Darren was motivated to teach by a range of factors. Some were based upon the belief that the purpose of teaching is to inspire effort and pleasure.

> D: So my standards [for school kapahaka] are 'Giving it everything and having fun.' That's the two things that I teach, not haka in straight lines.

Some were to do with teaching being about passing on something precious.

D: I'm teaching [this study of the sea] because I want them to know. It's just something I'm grateful I know and I want to give that to them. So it's just like I want them to appreciate the sea like I appreciate it, like just have that feeling towards it that I do, without, you know, forcing it on them.

Darren was also motivated by the belief that teaching had a political purpose: to bring about change and redress ignorance.

During one conversation Darren described how the practical principle relating to change and ignorance was derived from personal experience in one learning context and then reflected upon to support a plan of action in another context, that of the primary school. His response to my initial prompt showed that he believed the achievement of this practical principle required at least three factors to be present: challenging mainstream assumptions and ignorance, an appropriate ahua for the learning environment, and the ability to stay focused upon teaching goals that may not be a clear priority of the education system.

A: Sometimes I think when people think about things Māori they see it as a circle that it's just people going round and round doing the same thing that they've done for centuries and they don't see it as something that's got, you know, adding
D: Māori is going on and on
A: into today, yeah.
D: Yeah. There's a lot of things people, they don't see. It's just, you know, like people, yeah, need to wake up a bit at [my teacher education institution]. I think just, yeah
A: Tell me about that
D: Oh just, you know, like, just like what [you and I] are trying to find: a way of teaching. Like, you know, you're, we're all trying to open our

eyes to find out what it is, but they just want to keep that way, not, not, you know. They stop there, they don't want to keep going; to look further, you know, to see why. I suppose it's more of a concern for us. Like me, like that's my children who are failing. That's why I want to get that (what's that word?) ah 'pedagogy' yeah. I told my cousin that. I said, "That's the science of teaching." Yeah so, you know, people like, yeah. Even though um like we were. I was telling my cousin that this is a good place for resources and that. But then he was going, "Well where do all the," cause he was going, like, "What's the, what's the the Thing, the ahua, like in this place?" I said, "It's a real, it's not a Māori ahua. It's a you know." And I told him that we've got a whare, you know, cause we were out at the carpark, you, the temporary one just over

A: Mmm

D: and I said "Oh yes there's a marae here," and immediately he looked to the front. He goes, "Where?" and I said, "Oh it's out the back." And he goes, "What's it doing out the back?" I said "Oh." He noticed things like that and that's good cause, like, he knows protocol, tikanga. That's why he looked straight to the front: to see where it was and it wasn't there, and he just rolled his eyes and said, "Oh yeah, these people need to open their eyes." I suppose. But I told him, I said it is a good place to um help us get, you know, learn to become teachers yeah. And once we get there we'll teach the way we want to teach. That's what I want to do, just like get all I can (not that I am here to just learn), but then just, you know, do what we are doing here, trying to find a way, try and get it across and try to. That way I think, like, our our kids who are used to learning a way I've learnt then they'll, you know, they should achieve.

Darren was describing a perspective of good teaching that arises from and addresses culturally specific needs. The lesson from Māori pedagogy is that practical principles concerned with the purpose of teaching aim to guide good teaching to raise awareness of cultural factors that cause offence, and to focus upon the underachievement of Māori students. Other factors, including ahua and tikanga may also be present in guiding the teacher's actions. Good

teaching then, as a viewed through Māori pedagogy will incorporate a practical principle oriented to change and overcoming ignorance.

The conditions of good teaching:

A second practical principle emerging from conversations with Darren was that of the "safe" environment needed for good teaching to occur. This contrasted with Arapera Royal Tangaere's (1997) identification of ako as the key learning and development principle in kohanga reo. Meaning 'to learn' as well as 'to teach', the priority given to ako suggests the environment at kohanga reo is supported by the levels of mutual respect, trust and openness to learning necessary for alliance between teacher and student. While Darren did speak at times about the key tuakana/ teina pedagogical form of ako it was but one element within the greater concern for "safety". That he prioritised safety over ako suggests that the safe environment necessary for good teaching and ako based relationsis not believed to be sufficiently widespread in mainstream education.

While the issue of cultural safety has been explored elsewhere in professions other than school teaching[9], Darren identified at least four factors that define the "safe environment": having a sense of whanau or being in the company of whanau, teaching intuitively, enabling student ownership of learning, and respecting the ahua of the student. However while he could identify features, Darren struggled to describe how to establish the safe environment. When asked how he would ensure his classroom was safe Darren was unable to provide more than a fragmentary explanation based upon an earlier art

[9] See for example Irihapeti Ramsden (1997). Cultural safety: Implementing the concept. The social force of nursing and midwifery.

lesson.

> D: I don't know. It happens, it just happened last time. Like um with that art unit yeah I just like when I was asking the questions before we started it it just felt like they were you know wanting to sort of learn but and then when we just when we sat down it just felt felt safe. Yeah. Like when I was talking about the patterns and that and they were just focused. Yeah I didn't I didn't really know how I made it safe or if I did make it safe but it was safe yeah. It wasn't ah you know 'cause the kids were saying what they wanted and like some of the things were silly but I was laughing oh inside I was laughing but it was good that no-one none of the kids burst out with laughter.

Even without a comprehensive description of what makes up a safe environment Darren communicates something of the conditions and outcomes of his principled actions. He intuitively senses the readiness of the children to learn, he is able to encourage their readiness and in turn they participate willingly. What is more, certain behaviours will confirm that a safe environment has been established. These include caring for another's ahua (eg. not laughing at a child's answer), in-class participation (Darren: "[H]opefully you get that environment safe [in art class] where they can just get up and talk about what they've learnt") and innovation (Darren: "Getting that [safe] environment is harder than teaching but once you're in that safe environment anything can happen").

When good teaching results in a safe environment something occurs that results in the creation of an enhanced learning context that includes those defining factors and behaviours described above. The following account of a social studies lesson about Māori perspectives of the sea illustrates how good teaching might incorporate the Māori pedagogical principle of making the

learning environment safe.

At first Darren focused on the way in which a particular student participated in the major activity for the lesson.

D: You've just got to let, I think you've just got to let them be. Yeah I mean like even like one of the kids he didn't feel like doing it so I didn't see the point in forcing him to do it cause I think like if you're forced to do anything you're not going to give it everything. Rather than, you know, go, "Hey, hurry up and do it" you know, just get a half hearted effort yeah. Cause one of the guys in the class, Rob, um this guy, he's, everytime I look at him, he's just sitting there. And then I said, 'Oh you going to start?" and he said, "Oh, na." And I just walked round a bit and some guys were um doing their work and then he'll just pick up a pencil and start drawing and I said "Oh choice," you know and give him a nudge.

And then, just, like, he did his profile. Cause I said to them, I said, "Oh, you know, I want a profile, a picture of Tangaroa, what you think he or she looks like" and ah, you know, "Pretend I don't know anything at all about Tangaroa and you have to write something. And by the time I've finished reading it I'll know all about Tangaroa." Yeah. The kids were starting: "Tangaroa is the god of the sea blah blah" and "The giver of the art of carving," and everything.

And the way this other guy did his profile, he drew a picture (a good picture), and then he just put 'Tangaroa: Age blah blah blah, Job: Father of the Sea, Likes, Dislikes' that was how he did his profile. Yeah and that was quite a big effort from him."

During the lesson the students were given the opportunity to share their work with the class. Darren's associate had noticed that Rob had not volunteered to do so in previous lessons. She noted this in her written observation of the lesson which Darren later read.

D: And then um my associate she'd written down in the observation she goes 'Oh what about kids like such and such, why don't you get them up to do their presentation?' and then just after that she'd written "Oh okay you've proved me wrong," cause I'd just got him up to do it. Yeah. And he got up and did it.

A: And he wanted to?

D: Yeah, he got up cause there was him and another guy, Craig, but he wasn't there yeah. Cause I liked how they did it. They didn't do it my way. They did it their way.

A: So what made him want to get up that time do you think?

D: Um I don't know. I asked him if he wanted to get up and he said, "Yeah." Cause, I didn't, I didn't say "Oh you get up and do yours." I asked if they wanted to, if they're comfortable, and they did.

It was clear to Darren that Rob had responded well to the learning environment during the social studies lesson. But again Darren was unable to articulate exactly what had been put in place. He suspected that he was too familiar with the style of teaching to see it as anything but normal (and therefore 'invisible') ways of living.

A: Some Thing's happening [during your social studies lesson]

D: Yeah it's just putting the finger on it.

A: Yeah

D: But I, I don't know. It's just how I've always done things, you know. That's how we live so I can't see it.

In the absence of any plausible teaching related explanation Darren reflects upon possible connections with personal experience. In this way, Darren reminds us firstly that practical principles of teaching need not be made explicit to the teacher or others in order to have a positive impact upon learning; and secondly like any form of knowledge, what we understand about good teaching will involve the creation of linkages and a network of

associations between our recollections of experience.

By highlighting the political implications of education, the need for reform of mind and conditions, and aligning safe education with good teaching mainstream schooling is challenged by practical principles present in Māori pedagogy. According to Māori pedagogy mainstream understandings of good teaching are yet to incorporate practical principles arising from Māori experience.

3. Images and good teaching

According to Elbaz (1981) teachers can express metaphorical and analogous images of how good teaching should look and feel. The work of the third analysis tool is to make vivid an image Darren used to describe his understanding of good teaching. Remembering that this paper is concerned with how Māori pedagogy helps us to think about teaching, rather than a reliable record of a Māori teacher's thinking, one image in particular has been selected. It provides a mental picture of the nature and feeling one teacher associated with good teaching and acts as a prompt for Māori pedagogy to inform the review of existing understandings of good teaching.

Darren's social studies unit about valuing a resource focused upon Māori attitudes and practices around the sea. Although he planned to describe sustainability practices, fishing methods, he also planned to develop a sense of the intrinsic and spiritual values associated with the sea. In thinking about these values and how he had learned them Darren described a setting and feelings he associated with good teaching.

A: How [were values] taught to you?

D: It's just, it wasn't like, um. How we learnt it, it was just the way. It is a way of life, teaching. It's like when when you start off and you're kids. Dad and them would go diving, so they'd just get out of the car and just start walking and you've got to carry all the gears. And then like Mum and them are in behind us. And then, like, while Dad and them are diving, oh Dad and them'll be diving and they're bringing up kinas and that. Chuck 'em on the rocks and we could shell them. And then they'd go back in the water and, like, we'd have to shell them, but sometimes we'd go to eat them. And they'd say, "Don't eat them while Dad and them are diving." And, "Don' t eat while you're on the sea." It's just like we learnt those things just by doing.

A: Learn by the doing.

D: Yeah it wasn't like ah how we do lessons and stuff. It was just a, just a natural, easy way to learn I think.

Through physical effort, observation, listening, the presence of whanau and a relaxed learning environment Darren was taught how to value the sea. For him, this was an experience of 'good teaching'.

Having left that environment and moved into adulthood Darren now found himself in the role of teacher. How could the lessons from home be made vivid in social studies? Darren was aware that one of our aims for the interviews was to find ways of teaching that would incorporate Māori teaching models. I did wonder if he thought that this way of learning as a child would be possible for him to teach in the mainstream school environment.

A: So it made sense [to you as a child] then.

D: Yeah, it just

A: Can it make it sense when it's in the classroom?

D: Yup. I think it can.
A: How do you do that?
D: That's the hard part. Yeah. It's just um, that's all to do with that approach that we're trying to find out. That way of teaching. That's where I think it's lying, it lies, is how we're going to ah teach it. And how they're going to learn like how we learnt I suppose.

The significance of Darren's comment is twofold. Firstly he infers that he medium (the 'how') of teaching is where Māori pedagogy resides. It is there that the cultural framework is indelibly printed upon universal content. Secondly, Darren also suggests that he sees a continuity between generations and between learning contexts. To learn at the beach as a child with one's father is to learn how to teach another's child in a classroom. What is more the worth of that knowledge and that teaching method is still current for mainstream schooling. The problem lies in ensuring the teaching practices bridge these contexts of time and place.

Overarching values will assist in the re-presentation of good teaching practices and maintaining continuity. One that Darren identified early on in his planning was the spiritual aspects of valuing the sea.

A: Could you teach the unit without doing the spiritual side?
D: I wouldn't want to cause like I don't, you know, I wouldn't teach the sea or anything that I hold a value towards without bringing in the spiritual side. Because it has to be taught.

Later when Darren reflected upon the completed social studies unit he articulated a further and related fundamental value: good teaching is holistic.

D: The achievement objective of the unit was to see how Māori people

> value the sea and I came back, I was starting from the very beginning cause I started at um Te Kore, The Nothing, from the beginning. So I started right from the beginning and then just took it from there because that's, you know, Māori people value it that way. They believe the whole thing, not just from a certain point to there. They value it from the end and from the start....I want the kids to learn why, why my people value the sea. So there's no point in starting at a certain point and just taking it from there. You've got to start, then go right around to complete the circle .That's why it's important if you want to, you know, if you want to teach people something, it's not just bits and pieces.

Māori pedagogy presumes a continuity of practice and knowledge, from Nothing to Now, young to old, and a commitment to holistic learning. The use of images associated with previous experiences of good teaching links one teaching context with another. Feelings associated with good teaching are recalled and lessons are relived. In the example used in this section the image of good teaching at the beach has provided Darren with a model for teaching social studies. The intention is that this model contains not only instructions about how to teach values, how to relate to children, and how to expand knowledge and skills, but also implicitly reinforces that good teaching is all about the ways in which one lives. Māori pedagogy informs mainstream education by suggesting that good teaching should look and feel familiar, value-laden, alive, intergenerational and holistic.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to explore, through interviews with a preservice primary school teacher, ways in which mainstream education might be moderated by Māori pedagogies. In brief this has been an

investigation into Māori perceptions of 'good teaching'. The intention was to create a bicultural model of quality teaching and to inform policy and practices aimed at closing the performance gap between Māori and non-Māori students.

Using a conceptual framework of rules of practice, practical principles and images associated with teaching, I have tried to describe how Māori pedagogy might respond to the question 'What is good teaching?' In doing so I hope it has become apparent that Māori pedagogy is not only as complex and as informative as existing mainstream pedagogies, but it is also innovative.

By focusing on interviews with one preservice teacher of Māori descent I have not been suggesting that I have a gathered a representative view of Māori pedagogy. Even if I had interviewed several Māori educators I would be reluctant to suggest that a group that is relatively homogenous ethnically will have little or no variation in pedagogical perspectives. However, despite its limited sample this study shows that by attending to Māori pedagogy it is possible to reconceptualise how to think about good teaching.

A unique outcome of this study is that by describing components of Māori pedagogy the issue of the appropriate relationship between Māori and mainstream pedagogies is also highlighted. A postcolonial analysis suggests the need for a new theory of action in education, one that supports a model of genuinely bicultural education. The underlying purpose of this paper has been to create an understanding of the kinds of thinking necessary for a bicultural model of good teaching to take hold. As a starting point at least, I would suggest a mind shift so that Māori pedagogy informs mainstream

education not by default or as a marginalised perspective, but as a partner pedagogy. Like any other pedgagogy it would be subject to the same critical review processes. This will mean , amongst other things, conceptualising good teaching as safe teaching, investigating reasons for active resistance to mainstream rules of practice, and expanding images of good teaching to include those arising from Māori experience.

Of crucial importance with this mind shift is to move away from responsive or tactical strategies regarding Māori needs in mainstream education. Rather, initiatives leading to innovation need to be undertaken in teacher education, education policy, research and practice. One such initiative could be to pursue opportunities for discourse and data about the cultural construction of education. Cultural analysis is important because it is a vital, informing counterpoint to the economic and political machinery at the material centre of education. If Māori pedagogies are to add value to education and impact on students' achievements then a comprehensive set of culturally meaningful indicators is needed to monitor what is good teaching. As societal circumstances change in Aotearoa New Zealand, so too must pedagogical answers.

This paper has reviewed three areas of Māori pedagogical knowledge. According to the first area (rules of practice) good teaching may involve encouraging rules of practice less familiar to mainstream education, resisting rules of mainstream education and looking holistically at the implications of poor rules of practice. The second area focused upon the more complex domain of practical principles. Of central importance is the way in which all practical principles will be informed by every other practical principle. Good

teaching then may require considerable skill and cultural insight to determine key practical principles in an issue such as creating a "safe" learning environment. The third area examined an image of good teaching. It illustrated how good teaching will confirm links across generations and learning contexts, and will use relevant values to ensure consistency in delivery and content. Most significant was the confirmation that the way in which a lesson is taught will determine whether it is an example of good teaching according to Māori pedagogy.

The practical outcome of this kind of study arises from its basic philosophy: education is about a community in the making. We are related. The research reported in this paper indicates that there has to be a significant shift in how we perceive good teaching. The informed and reflective teacher and policy maker must come to understand Māori pedagogy as nothing less than an innovative partner in mainstream education. It is only in this way that we might genuinely respond to the question of what is good teaching and do so in a language of possibilities.

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